

BLACK FLAG

organ of the

ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

OCTOBER

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10p

You can change the face of Britain



Take power.

~~NOT~~ YOURSELF

MY GOD!
WHAT
HAVE
I DONE?



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- 2** Answers to quiz on page 15

THE ANGRY BRIGADIERS

The activities of Gen. Walker became known precipitately, through the General's intemperate rush to cash in on the situation that followed the General Election. Mr. Heath had thought that if he resigned — unnecessarily throwing away a working majority — the country would turn against the "extremists of the Left" by which he clearly meant the trade union movement and the militants in industry above all. He had the media behind him and thought he had the country too. What happened was stalemate, because half the country was engaged in industrial militancy of one sort or another and could not be persuaded by the media that there was anything wrong in it in their own particular case, whatever might be said of the necessity for others to sacrifice in the common good.

Returned with a bare majority, if he could rely on uncertain allies, it was impossible for Mr. Heath to form a government that would confront a large part of the nation. He had to turn his hand in and Mr. Wilson scored with exactly the same cards. He however, had the advantage of trade union leaders who could persuade the movement to cool it.

It was galling to the extremists of the Centre no less than to those of the Right, for if in that extremity, Mr. Heath's perfectly lawful government could have turned to a paramilitary organisation, it could have fought the industrial militants. It might or might not have won against them: experience shows that a purely military body needs overwhelming force but it can do it if ruthless enough — otherwise a mass movement of the right is necessary (usually dubbed Fascism).

The most sinister part of the 'private armies' is precisely their "dedication to law and order" and saying they would only serve a legal government. This is preparation for civil war. It means they want to move into the kill when they will be in a position not merely to have their own; present-on-parade assortment of ex-Congolese mercenaries, pasha brigadiers, sex cranks, toy soldiers and uniform fetishists; hit when they can be recognised by the State as a legalised private army and can take command of their old units once more to lead 'the boys' against the scorning proletariat that laughs at their ideals, devalues the worth of their pensions and never made presentable soldiers.

That is how it has always been done. What is significant about Gen. Walker is that he is retired and is able to say what he thinks. But he was not always retired. He was a key commanding officer. He is saying to the press what he has always said to the mess. Those who still serve cannot speak openly. But they are of the same way of thinking.

All these people who as an ideal 'love the country' hate its people. (It is no accident that so many British Generals came from the Protestant landowners in Catholic Ireland and so many Prussian Generals from the German "Junker" landowning minority in the overwhelmingly Polish part of East Prussia).

Every ex-Army officer wanting a job writes 'I know how to command men . . .' but in civilian life he cannot do so and ends up with State patronage, guinea-pig directorships or selling vacuum cleaners. The commands men take having surrendered their manhood as soldiers are not those they are prepared to take having resumed the comparative liberty of civil life. The dream of the reactionary ex-brigadiers, ex-colonels, ex-generals who can never settle down again is to be issuing commands once more.

This is what makes them 'Colonel Blimps'. But the cartoonist Low did a disservice to the progressive cause in inventing his famous cartoon character: he set out to ridicule something that was highly dangerous and powerful, thinking to deflate it. Charlie Chaplin had the same idea when making the 'Great Dictator': Adolf and Musso came over as great figures of fun but the joke savours of "bitter wit, when thousands weep more than did laugh at it". Low's "Blimp" was a retired colonel in a Turkish bath whose reactionary statements were outrageously absurd, on the lines of "Gad, sir, Hitler's right . . ." followed by a reductio ad absurdum. Yet in real life, Blimp (stupid or not) came out of the Turkish bath, dressed himself carefully, and his influence ruled the country. To say "Blimp" was stupid is no doubt true, but as a colonel he had probably been responsible for deaths on the Somme, had helped to break the General Strike and was a veteran of massacres in India . . . Low made him a loveable old reactionary and to say now "Walker is a Blimp" is to many people to say he is not to be taken seriously. But in fact, Walker's stupidity makes him dangerous just as Hitler's eccentricities made him not a cuddly old Nazi but more dangerous since he had the power to live out his fantasies.

The publicity given by Gen. Walker brought Col. Archibald David Stirling into the open. (Col. Stirling nowadays prefers to drop the Archie part because it is not in keeping with his destined role as Caudillo). Col. Stirling had been building-up secretly over the years a private army for the Centre. Now Walker was pre-empting him and was too dangerous to the Right. (The essential difference is that the Right would abolish the Labour movement right down to the Labour Party itself, not so the Centre). Stirling made an appeal to the people he had in mind. It was — in a famous scoop — 'RUMBLER' by Peace News and suddenly the whole scope and scale of private armies has been revealed. There is Paul Daniels of Hackney, for instance. An ex-mercenary soldier/who never quite made it in the British Army — as a corporal he is small fry compared with the plethora of top brass. He is obsessed with other matters than the need to crush the workers, since a major part of his time is devoted to the need for suppressing pornography in which he has an exceptionally lively interest. One of his methods is the curious one of advocating licensed brothels (an age old military idea, by the way) but it seems Archie Stirling had in mind the Festival of Light and so on as also rallying to the anti-anarchist crusade, fighting Sin and Anarchy and Inflation and and Impure Thoughts

Daniels already has a fighting Corps at the ready, nevertheless.

The police are less than enthusiastic about the whole idea. They do not quite relish the idea of the military taking over their job (even the political branch wants a police state, not an Army one). Nor do they fancy the situation if they are expected to keep apart the private armies of the Centre on the one hand and a working class backlash on the other.

There is one answer to the Brigadiers, Generals and Colonels: if their pensions were stopped (if retired) or their pay stopped (if serving) they would become as powerless as the Corps of Commissionaires, serving or retired, though much less useful. It is essential if this is not done by a left government, that must know its fate if they are successful, that they are opposed by a force that can reckon with them.

We must get the so-called revolutionaries to abandon their understandable but fruitless name-calling of the average soldier. He, sometimes she, is no different from other workers. It is true that the Army is used in a police capacity but soldiers do not regard themselves as policemen and do not understand themselves as part of the machinery of oppression any more than pacifists serving on the land regard themselves as part of the war. They come from working-class homes, usually for economic reasons (sons of miners abound in the Fleet) but also because civilian life has offered boredom, stagnation and lack of purpose. The left, which likes to build

DAWN OVER SPAIN

Readers of Freedom will know that there exists a dictatorship in Spain. Freedom of association has not been restored, despite what readers of its contact column are asked to believe by an exceptionally naive compiler.

A little while ago a Spaniard advertised in its columns for people active in the Resistance to get in touch with him. Giving an address in London openly, though a resident in Spain, the man (a painter with no works he was able to show) was approached by friends of ours to find out what he was up to. He said he wanted addresses in Spain of people engaged in armed struggle. Nothing else would do him. He was not prepared to undertake any work even of a minor nature by way of propaganda: all he wanted was the contacts in Spain. "You people have become bitter and distrustful," were his parting words.

Now in "Freedom" we read that a "group organising a Centre for Analysis of Conflicts" wants to "collect and disseminate info., on pacifism, conscientious objection, anti-militarism, all fields of 'counter-culture'" and wants to "exchange bulletins for publications — contact Aurora Moreno" at a given openly printed address in Barcelona.

Perhaps Miss Dawn Black was naive enough to send the notice to Freedom; who knows? If so its publication would lead to her certain arrest. Conscientious objection in Spain has not denegated, like it did in England, to a dialogue between pacifism and the State. Some are in their twelfth year of imprisonment as a result. Unlike England, pacifism in Spain is an enemy of the State; anything that runs against the prevailing culture is regarded with suspicion, and mere contact with an anarchist group abroad is of itself "illegal association" punishable by up to 12 years imprisonment.

CONTACT COLUMN:

Enthusiastic anti-Francoist wants to meet international anarchists; come with address books, literature, pot and jelly anytime, send lists of Spanish resistance fighters, photos appreciated. Acracia Libertad Durruti de Borbon Palma, c/o General Direction of Police (Politico-Social Branch), via Layetana, Barcelona. Post paid.

The Angry Brigadiers/

up the great lie that 'in the last war we were fighting fascism' so as to give itself the aura of constitutionality rather than revolution, equally likes to come out with 'British soldiers in Northern Ireland have made themselves hated . . . ' Well, no doubt they have but it's a bit hard on someone who joins the Army which he was told was capable of being 'anti-fascist' to be now told he is hated by the 'revolutionaries' as a result

As in the last war we must renew our contacts with our workmates in the forces. We are for SOLDIERS COUNCILS. Ultimately your Walkers and your Stirlings, in commission or out of it, are expendable rubbish. They could no more make a coup than Hitler could exterminate Jews or Churchill win the war. Their power is only in the fact that their commands are obeyed. And we cannot wait for Soldiers Councils; we must press on fellow trade unionists the necessity for armed resistance in the case of a coup: and if it is said we cannot have armed resistance, what sort of resistance can we have? If the private armies are getting ready to oppose a strike action, what force is there that will hit back? The mere threat of one is enough to make them run away. It is because of this that Conservative leaders like Mr. Rippon are already suggesting that there should be a reserve force at the command of the government to incorporate such private-armies, with the force of the law.

Finally, one can now see the folly of the so-called revolutionaries so anxious to nip in the bud any idea of workers defence. In resistance to the measures against the workers,

Crew seize giant liner

'She stays at sea until demands met'

'BOUT TIME THE CREW
OF THIS HERE PLANET
SEIZED IT AND
NEVER GAVE IT BACK!



Dutch anarchists, mostly living in squats, have created printshops in Amsterdam. They have produced some remarkable posters and organised an exchange with other printshops on the continent. A collection of these selected works is to tour Belgium, France and Germany, with the purpose of teaching people how to print and get hold of printing machines or construct them.

English comrades are invited to exchange their silk screen or off set samples. For detailed information contact: "International Archive Team," 83A, Haverstock Hill, London NW.3.

the Angry Brigade struck at certain targets. They were isolated. They picked their targets carefully (despite police boss Robert Mark's lie that they caused loss of life - coupling them with the IRA - they only attacked property. His too - that may explain the allegation). They made their points clearly. The Press denounced them as Public Enemy No. 1. Now appear the Angry Brigadiers. They are lauded as heroes or excised as 'Blimps'. In the interests of what they term the middle classes (but not the striking technicians, note; not the members of Clive Jenkins union; not the draughtsmen) they want to use military force on the working class.

It is the most shameless thing in the world for army officers, dependent upon the sacrifices of the people both in the way of providing their means of life at all, and on their lives in case of the Army being used seriously, to use that Army against the people. We have seen this happen at its most vicious in Spain now occupied by a conquering Army that committed genocide. It is bad enough when this comes from one sent from abroad, but this was its own national army. We do not claim to be 'moderates'. When this danger threatens one can no more proceed moderately than one can walk moderately to put out a fire in one's house or gradually send out the lifeboat in order to save as many lives as possible in moderation. The National Front is a decoy duck. What must be smashed is the Military Government party which we have so far seen only the tip of the iceberg.

Albert Meltzer.

DOCUMENTS IN THE SUAREZ CASE

Communique from G.A.R.I.

The Suarez affair, as a spectacular event, is effectively over — as the press affirms, content as it is with seeing the guilty punished and the innocent victim recovered safe and sound. What is not over is the confrontation between our revolutionary determination and the Francoist power; is our struggle; is our force of intervention in the capitalist world, which affects to see us as “desperados” and not as a group of people determined to act to destroy it, in liaison with all those who struggle. (Paragraph entirely censored by the journal *Liberation*).

Whether or not there had been a ransom demand, our course was clear, as were our political goals. The Franco government, which has begun to yield on several points, knows that well. For despite its contradictory communiques it has been obliged

to retreat in regard to our imprisoned comrades for whom the death penalty was originally prescribed. As for the arrests which have been made in France and the investigations which are being pursued to try to track down the “culprits”, they show clearly the real direction of French policy: Spain wants to get into the Common Market. The “half” of the French represented by Giscard want to help her with all their hearts. But to do that they must stand sponsors for fascism, tortures, and murders, and put themselves in harmony with such things. It must be hard for this half that Giscard inaugurates his presidential career by jailing his first political prisoners; he promises that that is going to change and that the French will be surprised. Indeed they are: Never has there been seen such co-operation between French and Spanish police!

Yesterday half the French, Mitterand at their head, intervened to get Franco to reprieve Puig Antich; today, when our comrade has been murdered and when several others lay in danger of the same end before we intervened, the French right lets loose its police and dares to arrest people accused of having given their support to an action which has been shown effective in achieving a result which many had hoped for.

Ottavioli, Bernard, stop your ridiculous witch-hunt: We gave help to our comrades when they were in danger of death, which is what your laws and moral principles uphold.

We demand of the Spanish government:

- Release of our comrades, who shall be taken to the frontier of their choice.
- Release of prisoners who have served three quarters of their sentences.

We have kept our promises; it is up to the Spanish government to keep theirs within the period set.

G. A. R. I.

Communique No. 1

Eleven revolutionary proletarians have been taken hostage by the State's thugs, in the case of the Capitalist Suarez. They have been kidnapped at Avignon, Paris, and Toulouse by paid thugs armed with machine guns. A case of kidnapping it clearly is, since it was not the eleven who captured Suarez and imprisoned him.

Those who take a stand, against the exploitation of the workers by means of the wage system, of taxes etc., and against private property, and who act accordingly to change this dominant social relationship, are captured and imprisoned by the capitalist State, not just for a few days, but for years! Capitalist society, private and State, is a racket at every level, and therefore provokes violence by daily exercising the violence of exploitation, of domination, of brutalisation. This means of defence offered by bourgeois democracy for the struggle against Francoism have proved their worthlessness,

as witness the corpse of Puig Antich. The imprisonment of Suarez has averted two new death sentences on Puig's comrades.

The money demanded is only the legitimate recovery of the product of the sweat of the workers, for their emancipation. It serves only to provide cash for the Spanish underground and to support the prisoners; it is not put to any individual use, the way a capitalist uses his fortune. In no sense can the money be said to be “received”, with or without qualification. This action has demonstrated clearly the collusion of the Spanish police and judiciary, inherited from Nazism, with the police and judiciary of those who pretend they fought Nazism in the Resistance. This lie has been nailed.

Judge Bernard (Sossi), Ottavioli, and behind them the executive, have made themselves the discreet accomplices of the heir of Hitler.

Bourgeois democracy is only a way of running western capitalism more smoothly, while exercising an indirect dictatorship over the life of the exploited, through the wage system and money society.

It is you, judge Bernard, who by your attitude encourage new direct actions, diverting them from Spanish to French soil. It is you who, by turning political actions into offences under ordinary law, show how the capitalist class oppresses the working class.

WE DEMAND THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF THE ELEVEN REVOLUTIONARIES IMPRISONED IN PARIS!

Puig-Antich Group of Internationalist Solidarity

Communique No. 2

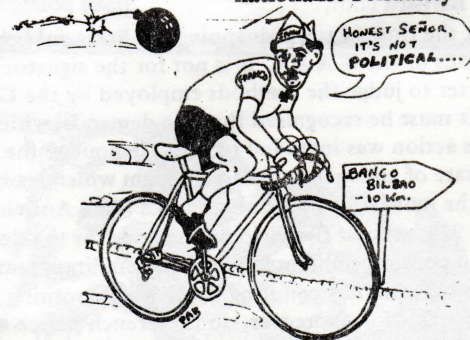
Appeal to all those disillusioned with the parliamentary road.

The Parliamentary road, property of the bourgeoisie, diverts the proletariat from the class struggle. Thus solidarity with those in prison is possible only by developing social agitation, everywhere!, and by that means changing the relationships of power. Let us find ways to give full vent to the deep discontents of the workers, regardless of their nationality or age.

Judge Bernard and the police contribute directly to this strategy. Giscard has been voted in with only 13 million votes out of a population of 55 million.

Everyone can do something, right where they are!

Puig-Antich Group of Internationalist Solidarity



Open letter to M. Alain Bernard, Juge d'instruction in charge of the proceedings relating to the kidnapping of the Spanish banker M. Suarez.

17. 6. 1974.

Since eleven people have been arrested, the complete silence of the Press, as much on the political aspect of the affair as on the defence of the people arrested, leaves many questions to be answered.

ADIOS ALCALÁ

There is, as I said in "Franco's Prisoner" an old song that says "better to die than be buried alive in that damn fortress of Puerto de Santa Maria". There is another folksong too, about Alcala de Henares:

Adios Alcala de Henares!
Patio de las tres palmeras
Donde se mueren los hombres
de sentimiento y de pena!

(Goodbye to Alcala de Henares, to the courtyard of the three palm trees — where men die in pain and anguish).

On August 1st of this year thirteen people (one of them French) were burned to death in Alcala de Henares. They were locked in, because the thirteen people were prisoners. In Alcala de Henares, famous as the town in which Miguel Cervantes, creator of Don Quixote, was born, there are three very old prisons. One is for those sentenced on military offences; another for women; a further for male civilian offenders.

In the last-named, there is a large printing works, where they publish the weekly prison magazine "Redemption" (nicknamed by the prisoners "TBO" after a kid's comic). There is also a large furniture workshop, which was where the fire broke out, rapidly spreading because of a highly inflammable varnish used on the furniture.

The prisoners cried out for help, unable to escape because the doors were locked and the windows barred. The room was soon filled with smoke and flames but none of the guards dared enter, and finally a prisoner working outside the workshop risked his life by taking the key and unlocking the door himself. But by that time it was too late: the thirteen were burned to death.

They could have been saved if the guard had gone to their help before. But prison warders are not of the stuff of which heroes are made; they did not choose that profession in order to risk their lives.

Of the thirteen dead, seven were due to be released in only three months time. One had only one more day to serve. For Alcala de Henares is no longer, as it was once, a jail for long-term prisoners. It is an open prison for those serving three years or less. Now a third of it is burned down, the prisoners can no longer exercise in the courtyard — which has lost its three palm trees but where men still die in pain and anguish.

Letter to Bernard cont.

True, at the time of the kidnapping the Press published the demands of the G.A.R.I. It is not for the signatories of this letter to judge the methods employed by the G.A.R.I.; however it must be recognised that the demands, which the G.A.R.I.'s action was intended to fulfil, denounce the permanent state of emergency in fascist Spain which leads too often to the murder of political militants (Puig Antich in January 1974, at least five current demands for the death penalty on political militants, two Basque militants murdered at the frontier, and not counting those which nothing is known about). Nor, moreover, do the French police ever refuse to collaborate with the Spanish police.

Almost the whole of the Spanish press, moreover, welcomed with a rare exuberance the return of democracy to Portugal. However, for several weeks now, there has been no mention of the democratic demands of the G.A.R.I., whenever the kidnapping of M. Suarez has been brought up. You understand that in the current period of extensive amnesty, notably of "political delinquents", we could become anxious because of this strange omission, for political re-

pression in Spain is a long way from fading away to the strains of the negotiations for her entry into the Common Market. We should like the militants of the G.A.R.I., if it is they who have been arrested, to be able to explain themselves politically and thus be judges on a knowledge of their case.

Yet the thirteen who died in the prison and were buried in the town's cemetery were lucky compared with those who died in pain and anguish in the days after the civil war. For more than six years thousands upon thousands of prisoners — whose crime was to have resisted the any uprising and world fascism — were taken from the prison alive, and about six in the morning the Civil Guard and the Falangists would come to the yard where the prisoners were assembled. They had a long list of names. One hundred, sometimes two hundred, sometime five hundred at a time had their names called by the sergeant in charge.

Their hands were tied behind their backs with wire and they would be herded out for the kilometre long march to the cemetery. It seemed to them an endless journey. Flanked by armed Falangists, they were, however, marching to the end.

At the cemetery a large trench had already been dug. The Falangists always wanted to push the prisoners in and bury them alive. It was more economical — there was no waste of bullets. But the Civil Guard would not have this. "The law is the law": the prisoners must be killed with a bullet, and so it usually turned out. In groups of twenty the prisoners were lined up against the cemetery wall and shot. Twenty after twenty they went to be killed. They all had to wait until their turn came to face the firing squad.

When the killing was over and the prisoners dead, they would be thrown into the trench and covered with earth. The number thus brutally killed probably exceeded the entire population of Alcala de Henares itself

— and water

On the very same day as the death by fire in Alcala de Henares in another part of Spain, the province of Sevilla, there was a riot in the small town of Carmona because there was no water. This happens frequently in the south of Spain during the summer. But several days had passed in Carmona without water and now the people came out on the street to demonstrate. They people knew they might be mown down by guns — for the regime has not changed basically — but they did not want to die of thirst. The Guardia Civil opened fire and succeeded in killing two of the demonstrators. The rest hastily retired, taking the easier option of death by lack of water.

BLACK FLAG IN RED FIGURES

If everyone who reads this bulletin sends us 10p - its price - we shall be out of the red...or if a quarter send 40p...

It is the duty of democrats to make known the facts of which we are reminding you. This however is not the only reason for which we write to you. For, up to this day, so far as we know, the arrested persons' lawyers have not had access to the dossiers and you yourself have not heard them. From this fact, and despite their having been deferred to the office of public prosecutor, it seems in any case that they are likely to spend a long time in jail, made even longer by the lack of haste with which Justice is proceeding in this case. We ask you to do everything to see that the rights of those arrested are preserved intact, and that their lawyers are able to lodge demands for the provisional liberty which should be the rule in such a political case.

June 17 1974

PAGES FROM WORKING-CLASS HISTORY

THE SINGER STRIKE

A reader asks us with reference to a recent Quiz (Flag III No. 11) whether we are correct in attributing the Singer Sewing Machine strike to "a few delegates of the IWW" who brought out the women and the unorganised workers (while the trade unions held back the organised workers) and which enormously pushed syndicalist influence in Britain.

He states, "I am not attacking the IWW (which I respect) but I understand the facts to be that the Singers strike was the work of the Industrial Workers of Great Britain. This had been formed (as British advocates of Industrial Unionism) at the same time as the IWW, on the initiative of supporters of Daniel De Leon, the great American Marxist. By 1911 the IWW had split – (on the subject of direct action versus the De Leonist mixture of direct and parliamentary action) – the IWGB was still firmly supporting De Leon."

Our reader is largely correct, though it actually became difficult to distinguish, in the syndicalist wave of the period, between the IWW and IWGB with overlapping of membership. It is not an easy period to evaluate and academically G.D.G. Cole was largely responsible for "cocking it up". A veteran of the class struggle writes:—

Max Beer, in his "History of British Socialism" said of the years 1911 to 1913 that they were "memorable in the annals of British Labour" and that we witnessed for the first time "a class war in which all its component parts were involved; English Welsh and Scottish miners, English railwaymen and Irish transport workers Robert Smillie, Tom Mann, James Larkin, and James Connolly, all born fighters, marshalled and led the new forces in battle array. Nothing like it had ever happened before". This gives an indication of the grass roots upsurge of proletarian struggle, encapsulated by Beer in the names of the better known "leaders".

It was as important in its way as that of the period of "New Unionism" of 1889, which brought into existence the organisation of the mass of semi-skilled and unskilled workers, e.g. the dockers, gasworkers, the printers assistants (Natsopa). This period (1910-12) was marked by the beginnings of mass organisation of women workers, who were being brought into the (primarily) engineering factories, to work the new machines which were being widely introduced (capstans, semi-automatic lathes).

This inevitably had its reflection in debate and discussion on how best to integrate the semi-skilled and unskilled craft workers in the new mass production factories, for which the old craft unions did not adequately provide organisation. Outside the older industries (such as textiles) where women were being organised, women workers tended to be organised separately in what were known as the general "womens unions", simply because the mens unions did not cater for them. In the case of Scotland, a big movement to organise women started the previous year 1910 in East Renfrewshire (Nitshill), where the daughters of miners in this area obtained work in nearby textile factories. In one copwinding department, the daughters of socialist miners put forward demands for better prices. John MacLean was sent for to help in the organisation and he got in touch with the Federation of Women Workers, and Mary MacArthur, Kate Beaton and others helped in their organisation. Thousands of girls took part in mass demonstrations in this area. This laid the foundation for a big forward movement to organise all women in factories, not only in Scotland but in many other parts of Britain.

The movement spread and the most significant was the strike of a few women polishers at Singer's Sewing Machine factory at Clydebank, which employed 12,000 workers and

belonged to an American firm. The whole 3,000 women in the factory went on strike in sympathy and they were followed by all the non-union men in the factory i.e. those not organised in the craft engineering union the ASE.

Ever since 1903, the Socialist Labour Party had been playing a growing propaganda part in developing the idea of "industrial unionism", and it appears that the adherents of the SLP, who were also members of the Industrial Workers of Great Britain, took full advantage of the situation. Finally, the rest of the organised workers (ASE members) also came out in sympathy.

However, the strike was finally broken by the management issuing individual letters to all employees, stating that if 6,000 signed them as being ready to return to work, the factory would be reopened. The management's tactic succeeded and the strike failed. The main organisers of the strike were members of the SLP. They were sacked but the effect was that they spread out over many other factories in Clydeside.

There was much debate and discussion between and among the various political groupings and industrial propaganda group on the nature of trade union organisation and on socialism. Both the Social Democratic Party (a development of the SDF) to which MacLean belonged and the Socialist Labour Party (De Leonist) strongly criticised the ILP's proposals for "nationalisation", which they considered to be state capitalism. They put forward the concept which became more widely known as "workers' control".

There were two main theoretical tendencies prevailing from 1903 onwards. Firstly, that of De Leonist concepts (SLP) of (a) the mass socialist party and (b) industrial unionism. Secondly, a "syndicalist" tendency was introduced. This firstly emerged from the debate in the Industrial Workers of the World in the USA, which had its reflection in Gt. Britain. The exponents of "industrial unionism" in the States were primarily De Leon and Debs. It was taken up in this country by Connolly, MacLean. Connolly failed to win the SDF at this time, and a group seceded in 1903 and founded the SLP. Its paper was "The Socialist". Because of its close connections with the USA, it reflected all the disputes in that country. The Industrial Workers of the World was founded by the American Industrial Unionists. In Britain, the SLP called a meeting from which was founded a similar organisation called the British Advocates of Industrial Unionism.

In 1908, the IWW (Wobblies) split between anarchist and "political" factions. The anarchists were opposed to any kind of political action and therefore opposed to contacts with the American SLP. The same split took place on the B.A.I.U.

The anarchist faction, being a minority, left the B.A.I.U., and founded the Industrial League. The B.A.I.U., continued to work with the SLP and in 1909 was reorganised under the name of Industrial Workers of Great Britain. There were, of course, other factions, including the Industrial Group in Sheffield, IWW in Birmingham and the Revolutionary Industrialists in Liverpool. The SLP and the IWGB were certainly the most important and representative Industrial Unionist organisations in this country. Syndicalist propaganda really started in 1910. Tom Mann was the principal figure, although this did not stop him also being or becoming general secretary of the ILP. This followed his visit in 1910 to France. He combined both industrial unionism and political action with syndicalist ideas. The propaganda organ was the Industrial Syndicalist — note the merging of the two ideas in this! The Industrial Syndicalist Education League was set up in 1911 and lasted until 1913.

BLACK JUNE



The case of "Black June", a German Anarchist group responsible for the execution of Ulrich Schmucker, has triggered off a controversy in Germany and other countries.

Schmucker had been arrested, together with three other comrades, in May 1972 in Bad Neuenahr. According to the police statement they were travelling in a car containing explosives. During questioning one of the occupants from the car, Sommerfeld confessed freely about an intended bomb plot and gave the names of co-conspirators. After two days of pressure Schmucker gave the names of others and his statements led to arrests and were used in evidence against the arrested. Schmucker was sentenced to 2½ years imprisonment, but was released. It soon became evident that he was using his contacts with several Anarchist groups in order to spy on them.

The Commando "Schwarzer Juni" (Black June) formed a "Peoples' Tribunal" which confronted Schmucker with the accusations and evidence of his role as an informer. After his execution the tribunal issued an account of the trial in which the evidence was made public. "Black June" stated that traitors in the ranks of the revolution could expect only extermination.

The action met with an angry response from West Berlin Anarchist workers and comrades of the Chile Defence Committee. The Koln Anarcho-Syndicalists, editing "Befreiung" (the best known Anarchist paper in Germany), declaring their agreement on many points put forward their criticisms in an open letter to the "Black June" group. We give an extract in free translation since a word for word translation would be very difficult to follow.

"It is said in your communique that Schmucker was a traitor. We assume your intention was to deter others from committing acts of non-solidarity by shooting him. This execution has been hailed by a large number of dubious characters and comrades stating: "At last! Death to the traitors!" "About time this happened!" "The ranks of the revolution must be freed from informers!"

Among these enthusiasts are Stalinists who enviously admire acts of this sort which are agreeable to their taste. There are also types who are always changing in their support, participating irrationally here and there, having no definite commitment but given to high-flying ideas and are quickly disappointed. They play at being tough revolutionaries, but when they are caught are taken in by any Social-Democrat judge who is friendly. Failing to recognise him as a class enemy they give in to police pressure and become informers!

You have demonstrated how to liquidate traitors, but failed to explain why comrades so easily become traitors. Bruhn, Maher, Kuhn, Ruhland, Homann, Grafer, Putnik, Brockmann and Schmucker did not start out as traitors.

You may argue that there have always been informers, even in legal organisations. We say, nowhere else have so many traitors been produced as by your group. Your execution of Schmucker was an attempt to solve the problem of treason technically. Do you really believe that in the face of the bastion capitalism has raised against us (the computer, special arms, special units) that we can ever defeat these highly developed means on a technical level? Surely not!

We cannot believe in the deterrent effect of your sort of execution. Could it not be that the cause of the treason is your illusion that you are conducting the class struggle by arming yourselves? Also by assuming that if only a few start, the spark will produce a fire? Is this not simply arrogance trying to avoid the everyday struggle? It is not the Schmuckers, but the cause that produces treason which must be liquidated.

Arrogantly, you call yourselves: "delegates of the Peoples' Tribunal". By whom were you delegated? How many delegates were present at your tribunal? What you ought to learn from the example the people provide is:

1. The capability of self-criticism;
2. The capability of uniting with others for a common aim;
3. The capability of learning from the people and seeing how they learn;
4. The capability of taking part in the basic work of production.

Can't you see that the people see their enemy in a different light and do not recognise him in the distorted image you paint? How can it ever be a mutual struggle if you don't accept and support the struggle as it is understood by the people?

Don't you realise that Schmidt has to be fought differently from Strauss: Social Democrats differently from fascists, rent-usurers differently from slavedrivers, or the increase of fares differently from the reduction of metal tariffs. Explosives and rifles are two weapons among hundreds of others!

Technician specialists in the anti-imperialist fight? Alright some of us possess technical knowledge — but we have no need for comrades who run around as specialists operating alternatively in Spain, Portugal and England. Even if a plot succeeds if nobody gets caught, if nobody uninvolved gets hurt — it is always more a result of luck than of careful planning and is therefore an adventure.

We believe that you are sincere when you declare that you aim at anti-imperialist solidarity, but we doubt that specialisation in technical aggression is a stable basis for lasting solidarity. Obviously it is important that comrades abroad involved in the struggle (in Vietnam, Ireland, Chile, the Arab countries, etc.), know that comrades in the advanced capitalist countries fight in support of them.

You want us to organise demonstrations, collections, fetes, and to publish papers, but you insist on doing something else. Why this division of labour? Our activities strengthen us as well as you for future struggles. If you do not take part in our daily efforts you will turn out technicians and more traitors.

You say it is alright for us to preach since we are sitting in safety while you are illegal. Your specific knowledge is important and necessary to us as well, but our experiences are also necessary and important to you.

You dream about all the things that could have been done in Lippstadt, at Ford's and at Mannesmann, but you won't be able to accomplish them as long as you separate yourselves more and more from the people working there."

To this letter the Black June Commando replied as follows:—

“To a number of “Comrades” ”:

We have read the letter composed by a number of avant-garde veterans concerning the execution of the agent Schmucker, and consider it to be whining, moralistic, pacifist and movement splitting. We furthermore maintain that these are the marks of the bourgeoisie, in this case the left bourgeoisie struggling for political survival and talking about the people and basis of the struggle while revolutionary events have passed them by and may well continue to do so.

What has revolutionary direct action to do with Putte; Fuchsbaue, Beiziger Street, public transport fare increases, Ford, Lippstadt and so on?

The schoolmasterish tone of this document is unqualified and overbearing to an extent — damn it all — that we are reminded of the utterances of our foremen, superiors and educationalists. ‘Your specific knowledge is important for us — our experiences are important for you’. By contrast with you, we have not experienced class contradictions in positions of privilege.

In return we ask: are the people taking part in your committees, rock-fetes, etc? Are they with you on the campus or at your writing desks? If that were so, you would have learned by now that every class-conscious proletarian says: a traitor and an agent must be sentenced.

Your entire document is psychological rubbish having nothing to do with class struggle, but it does show the decay of the ‘68 left lobby. How else is it to be understood when the liquidation of the instrument of a class enemy is reduced to a moralistic subjective “problem”, as if only a revolutionary movement produces traitors, informers and agents and not the class enemy employing manifold opportunities and means?

It seems to us as if a few hesitant, conditioned and frustrated left intellectuals want to impose their criteria as a tapemeasure for revolution.

It is the old song, eternally the same story: progressive bourgeoisie telling the stupid proletariat how to make a revolution.

You say the people see the enemy differently from the way we depict him. Firstly you overlook the fact that we come from the people, and secondly, that we do not portray the enemy but fight him by constant versatile effort, step by step and daily.

Your relation to illegal activity, and your knowledge about it, is unbalanced and personal and therefore unpolitical.

Solidarity is not charity! How often have we tried to make this clear to you. You only display your eagerness when a fighter becomes a victim, when he has been imprisoned or murdered or becomes a hunted fugitive. But when he is engaged in offensive action you obstruct and stab him in the back.

Therefore no more of your letter because you do not represent revolutionary power — the only source we care to argue with.

Movement of the 2nd June.

Black Flag Reply.

So far as we are concerned the issue seems simple.

The emotive word “traitor” obscures the issue, since one is not talking about one who “betrays” — which has various meanings and gradations — but someone acting consistently as a spy. It is quite obvious that a group like “Black June” undertaking (illegal) urban guerrilla work will attract a greater proportion of spies than those undertaking (officially tolerated) propaganda or industrial work, who have nothing to conceal from the police.

In no fighting unit of any nature anywhere in the world is there any other way to deal with conscious, consistent spies but by death. Among authoritarians the death penalty is extended to any form of betrayal even because of disagreement (as in the case of the Stalinists) or cowardice (all Armies). What the argument boils down to is should an *illegal* army do what a *legal* army does (but this has nothing to do with anarchism); the fact is that if a fighting unit is to continue at all, it will have to defend itself by such means or alternatively disband.

The issue is clouded because many young libertarians in Germany have come through a “Marxist” phase and cling to the terminology or have had no experience prior to being plunged in the vortex. They over-react to events or to criticism. The “Befreiung” position is reasoned and correct. “Black June” reply in a hysterical fashion. But they are defending a valid position understandably imperfectly understood by “Befreiung”, whose activity is of an entirely different nature.

The same problem has been experienced in Spain over many years both when there were legally tolerated groupings and when there were not. There were urban guerrillas like Durruti in the old days, and Sabate in the post war period; on the other hand there were the workers’ organisations. On one occasion the informer Melis penetrated the latter and got as far as the regional secretaryship. A group came from France to kill him (Sabate was in prison at the time or he would have been among them): Parejas and Antonio Gil Oliver traced him down and shot him. This anyone would accept as a normal act of war. There is no need to mystify it with Marxist wordology.

On the other hand we would disagree strongly with the “heroic stance” attitude which derives not from Marxism but from patriotism and nationalism. We would not condemn as a “traitor” one who broke down under torture. This is freely practised now in Germany and at a certain point one must accept that anyone can break down. (A few like El Catala, who swallowed poison) will commit suicide rather than betray when in the hands of the secret police. But everyone cannot be the same. Some will stand out until death. We cannot expect that of everyone. Some did so in the Nazi era. But on the whole this necessity derives from an authoritarian mode of resistance — where there are leaders to betray — rather than from a libertarian one, which is composed of smaller groupings which know more quickly what has happened. The Chinese Anarchists never regarded it as treacherous to break down under torture; and we admire the lively confessions of Bakunin who not only recanted, confessed but wrapped it up and wallowed in it (taking care to incriminate nobody but himself).

“Black June” have not however condemned anyone of this nature, so far as we are aware.

ARRESTS

Comrade Reinhard Guddat (Bonn) and Jergen Bodeux (Köln) have been arrested. Also Ilse Jandt (Wolfsburg) known as “Red Ilse” and comrade Siegfried B. (Darmstadt). Red Ilse is said to have been the ideologic teacher of the Wolfsburg Commune, harbouring deserters. She is supposed to have been responsible for previous actions carried out in Wolfsburg and has served time in prison. The police stated, that the arrested comrades had prepared an expropriation action aimed at the office of the “Stern” magazine that an arsenal of arms were found in the Darmstadt commune and that the arrested comrades were members of the “Tribunal 2 June” (Black June Commando). More arrests are expected to follow.

WILDCAT

New paper-Established Tendency.

The first number of *Wildcat* appeared after many rumours as to what it was to be. Originally a bulletin appeared which was to have listed the various activities of the Anarchist movement. Then a paper was mooted in which, it was said, "a wide spectrum of the libertarian movement" including Wynford Hicks, Nicolas Walter, Ron Bailey and (of all people!) Peter Cadogan. Now we have the paper itself which states it is a libertarian paper, including editors and contributors "most of whom are anarchists and some who are not". But what they mean by anarchist and libertarian we are left to infer.

It is certainly a good thing to have as many anarchist papers as possible — there are enough authoritarian ones. We would welcome this well-produced and printed paper more if it, however, honestly defined the position which it fails to conceal under the pretentiousness of "not having a line" and not being "yet one more faction among many, as rivals to existing groups . . . a paper that existing libertarians . . . will find relevant, "and so distinguishing itself from "British anarchist papers like Black Flag, Libertarian Struggle and Direct Action in not putting forward the views of a particular anarchist tendency."

Of course *Wildcat* has a tendency and is a faction, it leaps at one from every article, from every name. Those who condemn "armed struggle in Germany" and caution people to "be careful" of those who advocate it, are no less factionalistic or tendentious than those who take the directly opposite point of view.

Those who deprecate the Angry Brigade and beatify the worthy pacifist Pat Arrowsmith are not more objective and impartial than those who take a somewhat different view of events.

Those who call Guy Aldred "eccentric and quarrelsome", and put forward a version of the "War Commentary" trial of 1944 entirely from the point of view of the Freedom Press Group and omitting any details of the movement of which this was an echo, are not avoiding being a faction nor concealing their tendency.

What that tendency is needs to be defined clearly. The anarchist movement suffers from real definitions. Those who talk of "personality attacks" forget that these come about as a result of distinct markings which characterise the Marxist movement. The line between (say) Healeyites and the SPGB is so clearly drawn there is no need to belabour the point.

The names mentioned in *Wildcat* are evocative of the old *Anarchy*; for this is Colin Ward's *Anarchy* is a new format, re-vamped and adapted to the fact that the pacifist students of yesteryear have moved along — some like Peter Cadogan to the Centre Party (of which in Conway Hall he declared himself an advocate); some heavens-knows-where. The editors mentioned approvingly as an "example of readers we hope to interest" one Godfrey Featherstone. This pacifist gentleman once launched an appeal in *Freedom* to raise funds for a policeman supposed (falsely as it turned out) to have broken his back in a demo. The incident broke (metaphorically) our back; it was the heralding of the parting of the ways with *Freedom*, we could take no more . . . and if you think this was just an excess of love and brotherly feelings on the part of Mr. Featherstone, his reply to a protest signed by several of our faction was a tiny masterpiece of venom and personal spite on the person whose name (for alphabetical reasons) came first.

Mr. Cadogan is apparently a friend of the editors, who criticises the name as suggesting "mindless and unconstructive violence" — a phrase redolent of the Centre ("mindless" a favourite; and "violence" coming well from someone who approvingly speaks of the Natfront as "men who know how to look after themselves"). To regard Cadogan as an enemy may be a sign of our factionalism, to regard him as a friend is not proof of a disinterested, academic objectivity.

In saying this is the old *Anarchy* in a new format, one is praising as well as condemning; a lot of it was very good and the new organ of the neo-Wardians will have a lot to live up to, and may well achieve it. The emphasis is on news rather than theory; but this is logical, for the theories of adventure playgrounds and creative vandalism and sexual revolution and so on which were part of the old *Anarchy*'s background, and part and parcel of its libertarianism as distinct from anarchism, have now taken on shape and one can write of them as news rather than theory . . . *Shape* is perhaps the wrong word; the faction has taken on dimension since its distinguishing feature is precisely its shapelessness and this is what unifies it into the package-deal left, where social work is the thing to do, and grants from Labour councils support task projects and play projects that are said to be transforming capitalism and so on (by over-stating they make it ridiculous; whereas as simple reform they have a case).

What is worst about the structureless liberalism is its demoralising and debilitating effect upon the anarchist movement which "*Wildcat*" says is "weak" but doesn't say how or why. Since the transformation of Colin Ward's *Anarchy* into the present, militant *Anarchy* that the activist liberals, pacifists, Committee of 100 backwoodsmen, revisionists, quietists and academic theorists have lacked an organ. "*Freedom*", undertaking the task of trying to please all, pleased none. Here, in *Wildcat*, the tendency regroups not just as an organ, but as a positive faction — no less a faction because of the structurelessness which is integral to its outlook.

It is this structurelessness that enveloped the old Anarchist Federation and caused its disintegration; both ORA and ASA are different reactions to it. Some of the younger generation think "structurelessness" was bound up with "anarchism", "older anarchists" or "the Federation". It was none of these things. The anarchist movement was a working class movement, with the revolutionary ideas similar to those of the Black Flag tendency for years. Due to the split in the London anarchist group (not as Philip Sansom says between "pure" anarchists like Richards! — and others — but between two opposing personal factions) both Freedom Press Group and another group then calling itself the "AF" — of which two people later became pioneers of the SWF, both sides let in the middle class pacifists to the movement who had previously been rigidly barred.

This years later led to the liberal invasion of the movement by the pacifists coming from the CND generation. It is odd that when these become Marxists they drop their pacifism, but when they become Anarchists retain it, or call themselves the absurd term "non violent anarchists" as if to distinguish; because of course the structurelessness they bring with them and retain means they can use one negative against another. A group like Black Flag is symptomatic of the fact that the older anarchists and the younger ones — plus those between who shed the pacifist illusion of CND days — have everything in common as a tendency. ORA, reacting against the structurelessness of the tendency now embodied by *Wildcat*, goes perhaps to another extreme but (purged of its original would-be leaders) remains within the same concept of class struggle anarchism as we do, or as less "structured" groups like ASA or local groups.

Recently "*Freedom*" acknowledging the responsibilities of its editorial group for its own collapse, advocated a "new Anarchist Federation". This could not happen in the same way since the tendencies are now more clearly marked. Hence perhaps the drifting of some like Philip Sansom — formerly of the Freedom Press (inner) group — to this tendency. The first issue of *Wildcat* does not conceal the factional bias; though it is not ours, we appreciate that it may have a part to play in what one can regard as a "broadly defined" libertarian movement (though not an anarchist one, for that is to do with class war and it is on this issue that the tendency

CENTRO IBERICO

We have been able, since starting the Centro Iberico — first in a church hall at Holborn, now in our own International Libertarian Centre premises in Belsize Park — to speak to many Spanish comrades who have come over to work, study, visit or make contact. We hear news of the progress of the libertarian movement in Spain: we get details of the latest arrests, the movements of prisoners, the growth of the workers' resistance.

Since the execution of Salvador Puig there has been an upsurge of interest in the anarchist movement. Most students, influenced by the place of Marxism in the university curricula, tend to turn at first to Marxist-Leninism. In the main not the Moscow variety, but the Maoist or sometimes Trotskyist varieties, yet they soon perceive that the workers in Spain automatically, in time of stress, turn to their anarchist traditions.

"What is anarchism about?" they ask, and when they know, they find it easier to integrate with the workers. But sometimes they come with cobwebs on the brain from exposure to propaganda. The other week, some young Spaniards came — keenly anti-Franco, with a usually high degree of perception. 'But is it true that Carrero Blanco was killed by the 'ultras'?' they asked.

(The 'Ultras' in Spain are always the ultra-Right).

"What nonsense is this?" It is the latest theory of the Communist Party (Moscow line — the "Carrillistas"). What they cannot control, they must denounce. Nor are they all that keen on the overthrow of the regime at this stage, when they have so successfully penetrated its outer structure by an alliance of the CP-controlled Workers Commissions with the Christian Democrats (bourgeois semi-tolerated Opposition Party).

Before this theory the CP advanced the idea that the CIA was responsible!

The Spanish Police have named two suspects who would certainly be killed if found. One is Ignacio the other Aya. I know them well. They are Basques, and certainly not reactionaries: good, sincere comrades, if not precisely anarchists. The first was on a propaganda tour with myself in England, the second in prison with me. Their credentials are not in doubt. It is a great pity that it upsets the Communist Party line that they are the only source of opposition to General Franco and that this opposition is entirely of a parliamentary nature. Big business in the way of Common Market entry, Russian strategy, and foreign trade union support depends on that line being maintained. But facts are facts and these suggestions must be given the lie direct.

Miguel Garcia

Wildcat cont

breaks down always). We hope it will trim itself of the libertarian personality cult, which always enstills sneering at anarchists and glorifying pacifists; that it will find a field in which it can, as it says it wishes, make an appeal to non-libertarians — not the Cadogans and the Featherstones but the people who are for nationalism or patriotism or racialism not because they have thought out a position, but who cannot be won over just by saying "National Front = Nazis" because then they become Nazis. It could do this. It has a flair for journalism which British anarchist papers (us too) lack. Because it represents a faction it does not have to be a hostile one; in other countries the pacifist movement itself does not take up the bitter antagonism to revolution it does here and the kindliness the pacifists show to nationalistic and patriotic vanguards, however terroristic, is sometimes extended to revolutionaries. It is perhaps too early to see what "Wildcat" will become. This review may help to guide or revise its policy; one is perhaps optimistic to expect this.

BARCELONA ARRESTS

These are the findings of the Examining Magistrate in the case of Burro, Edo, etc.

Summario 682/74

Urgente

Juez Sr. D. Diego Cordoba Garcia:—

Luis Burro Molina, Luis Andres Edo and David Urbano Bermudez, all previously sentenced by the Public Order Tribunal, are members of the CNT, a clandestine and illegal association of anarchist ideology. The first named is a member of the Political Prisoners Solidarity Committee and served as a letterbox between Luis Edo and an unknown person in Paris during the period 13 to 15 May last. Molina received the letters addressed to him from Paris, opened them, and after reading them put them into fresh envelopes and handed them to Luis Edo. All the correspondence was related to the kidnapping of Sr. Suarez in the French capital, and this is proved by the fact that he retained the original of the letter dated May 16 written by Sr. Suarez himself. Equally, in company with Edo, Bermudez and other anarchists he attended a meeting in a bar in the Plaza de Vicente Martorell in Barcelona where Edo proposed a series of linked kidnappings with the intention of obtaining political liberties. These kidnappings were to be carried out by the armed First of May Group — a clandestine anarchist organisation — in conjunction with ORA (Armed Revolutionary Organisation) in France.

In Luis Burro's flat were discovered, among other clandestine texts, 24 posters with the statement "We shall avenge Puig Antich"; 24 pamphlets referring to Solvey Martorell; 30 copies of "El loro indiscreto" published in May 1974; and a political statement signed by the Internationalist Revolutionary Action Groups plus numerous other books of anarchist ideology.

The facts presented include the crime of ILLEGAL ASSOCIATION, art. 172 of the Penal Code in the case of all the accused and a charge of ILLEGAL PROPAGANDA, art. 251 of the Penal Code, against Luis Burro Molina. There are also reasonable grounds for proceedings against LUIS BURRO, LUIS EDO and DAVID URBANO under art. 384 of the CRIMINAL JUSTICE ACT.

..... You should proceed to decree a remand in custody without bail for all the accused.

Signed

litmo. Diego Cordoba Garcia,

Magistrado Juez del Juzgado de Orden Publico No.2.

Burro, Edo and Urbano are being held in the Carcel Modelo de Barcelona. Food parcels should be sent to them at the prison itself.



A correction of fact in issue No. 1 : the Anarchist Black cross does not differ from Amnesty International in that the latter is concerned with political prisoners, whereas the former with political prisoners, especially Spanish! That is one of the pieces of information it is impossible to say is untrue yet what else is it?

WORKERS CLUBS

We have received some extremely interesting comments on our series on Workers Clubs. The first (from JQ of London) tends to place them within the framework of "grassroots" associations. This is indeed one place in which they can grow. They could also be provided by the libertarian groupings and left parties making an effort, and - placing their money where their mouth is - provide a number of centres where the working class militants can meet socially.

The only way that working class action within the job can move is by militants who are where the production line is getting to know on whom they can rely in the task of building workers councils to press for workers control. Workers clubs can take a variety of forms. The important thing is that there should be a springboard from which militancy can dive into the task of workers control. In the absence of some means by which the workers can participate, the politicians and the academics will take over - defining ways in which "workers councils" exist which are no more than added lumber to the bureaucracy of exploitation.

JQ writes:-

I was interested in your things on workers clubs - have you seen the History Workshop pamphlets on WMC's? There's one by Stan Shipley on 'Socialism and Club Life in Mid-Victorian London' and another by John Taylor called 'From Self-Help to Glamour: W.M.C.'s 1860-1972). These aren't quite what you mean by workers clubs, I think, but they're interesting if you want to find out what amounts to the historical roots of an institution which would present itself as something of a rival.

The major problem to which the clubs you propose are one answer is the fragmentation of working class community (its very easy to be romantic about this one but the socialisation of the areas of housing built in the last quarter of the nineteenth century for (and by) the working class represents a very real triumph of the human spirit). On top of this the lack of life on the street, the privatisation of social life etc., all undermine the social basis out of which comes collective resistance.

In some senses now the situation presents itself as collective resistance stimulated by Outside Agitators providing some basis for social cohesiveness, an almost complete reversal. But since this is the point of entry by all sorts of soft cops from the council etc., one could say that they are not just trying to interfere with our social lives but to become the medium within which our social life exists. And then the problem presents itself as one of contestation within the situation or the attempt at alternative forms - the workers clubs being one of the latter. The difficulties here are definitely financial - the University Unions you mention are lavishly provided with money from the government.

G. Jewell, IWW organiser in Toronto, gives quite a different point of view

In response to your editorial on Workers Clubs as the primary organising methods: in the sense that this conclusion is coupled with a call for an International Syndicate, I would oppose your strategy insofar as it takes on a *universal* application. You may certainly be correct as it applies to and springs from British or even Continental European conditions. From my ignorance (although I have lived some 6 years in Germany), I would summarise a static social order, rigid class lines, and those workers unionisable already unionised into reformist or reactionary syndicates. Considering the total defeat of the libertarian movement in the '30s, it may well be that you are forced to start at such a low rung of organising as clubs or lodges. I know, for instance, that our British IWW organisers, some of whom have had recent experience in the US as well, are thinking along similar or even identical

lines. Moreover, our organising efforts in a Swedish shipyard last year came up against a pretty solid wall of Social Democrat, Communist and Ruling Class opposition.

I hasten though to point out that the situation in North America is quite different. Firstly, a far less static social order and probably the lowest level of class-consciousness anywhere in the world. But more importantly, despite the immense power of the reactionary AFL trades and the quasi-industrial unions of the reformist-cum-reactionary CIO, the fact is, the overwhelming majority of North American workers belong to no union. Vast areas have not even been penetrated by the AFL-CIO, especially the southern and south-western states and the prairie and maritime provinces of Canada. And even in the heavily unionised sections, there still remain extensive semi- and unskilled trades and industries untouched by unions*.

Now, this is certainly not to say a revolutionary union is going to triumph the day after tomorrow. The Capitalist Class and its enforcement institutions are especially powerful and vicious. And there are always the AFL-CIO unions ready at beck-and-call to raid a promising organising effort by a revolutionary (read also *weak and broke*) union. Nonetheless, there are chinks in the armour. This we know for certain solid organising efforts in the field.

Under these conditions then, it would be a tremendous backwards step to content ourselves with clubs or lodges. Besides that, the IWW - in its present condition of few job branches and no industrial unions - is in reality based upon General Membership Branches, which take in all the features of a club or lodge. And add to that our General Defence Locals.

I write this not only to convince you of the multi-faceted world situation, but also because Black Flag carries such weight among a key segment of IWW and other libertarian militants.

Hoping that these lines might be conveyed to your readership, I remain most determinedly your for the social revolution.

* The percentage of workers unionised in the US is 26%, down from 35% in 1945.

The discussion on Workers Clubs should not be confused with the idea of an "International Syndicate". We were talking in essentially British conditions; not necessarily the same in Europe (where "clubs" always suggests alcohol anyway).

There is a higher degree of class-consciousness here than in America (or in Russia which in a curious way shares the same problem as the USA - namely, the working class knowing it is exploited yet sharing an ideology with the ruling class), the working class movement as such has collapsed. We may recognise we are part of a libertarian movement; or in a wider sense part of a revolutionary one. As members of a working class movement we remain individual sectarians in an ill-defined body which has imposed allegiances which we cannot possibly share. Yet it is not us which is the unpopular minority: it is the people who impose those allegiances.

If there were places where we, as revolutionaries - of different aims and allegiances - could meet fellow workers off the job, and unite when necessary and disagree when necessary - we would be in existence as a movement *towards* workers councils or industrial unionism.

Fellow Worker Jewell makes an assumption unfortunately common among present day Wobblies viz in exaggerating the difference between Wobbly-type organisation and other. It is true that the IWW evolved in a certain way in the USA just as the CNT in Spain in another and the SAC in another . . . none of them laid down however that their method was the *only* one or even a separate ideology. Indeed the pre IWW view of Revolutionary Syndicalism embraced all these and more, and this is inevitable since they all accepted control

THE APPROACHING JACKBOOT

A number of developments over recent years have resulted in the bureaucratic "leaders" of the trade union movement becoming part of the overall structure of so called gentle repression which holds the people of this island in thrall.

So far it has been no more than, in the main, a polite consultation between governments and the TUC as the alleged mouthpiece for the working class. A slight enough exposure, one might have supposed, to the lure of political power. But one could quite well see how Vic Feather, and subsequently Len Murray and the rest of the superannuated shiny-arsed careerists had been ingratiating themselves with the government ministers they had been meeting every time they emerged from 10 Downing Street for the inevitable interview.

Then the social contract idea was floated, which at root means no more and no less that voluntary wage restraint on the part of trade unionists under a Labour government, agreed to for no better reason than an assumption that a Labour government might implement policies favoured by trade union leaders. So they barter our living standards for their political whims.

At first the social contract seemed no more than a vote catching stunt, an attempt to persuade the voters that nice uncle Harold could hold down wage demands better than nasty uncle Ted. But the keenness with which the TUC set about the task of securing a unanimous vote on the motion led to the suspicion that the TUC leaders had been offered a more positive role in a future Labour government than the consultation they have so far enjoyed.

This suspicion is strengthened when one reads Lord Blake "the Conservative party's trusted intellectual" (Guardian) maintaining "The answer may lie in bringing the unions more into the process of government, in enabling them to participate."

All these steps are moves towards an institutional incorporation of the trade union movement into the state machine. And the achievement of 'state trade unions' has always been one of the key characteristics of the corporate or fascist state, as the destruction of the autonomy of the workers' organisations is obviously the simplest way to keep them in line and to maintain a thorough-going system of political and economic repression.

It's been clear for some time that things are heading in this direction in this country, but the acceleration of the process in the past few weeks prompts one to urge revolutionaries in the trade union movement to consider and initiate ways of re-establishing and maintaining the organisational autonomy of the workers' movement. This can be done in any of a number of ways; informal rank and file groups, shop floor committees, libertarian liaison groups. Comrades will no doubt consider how best they can encourage and strengthen working class resistance to the centre dictatorship which approaches.

William Lee.

Workers Clubs cont.

from below, in a "horizontal" organisation as against a "vertical" one, and therefore could not lay down blueprints of an organisation for every circumstance. The workers council movement in Germany not only had the same ideas as the IWW for instance — people like Fritzenkoetter were active in both and saw no contradiction — but all these ideas anarcho-syndicalism workers councils, regionalism, industrial unionism, libertarian communism, are part and parcel of one movement. To assume otherwise is to take the Eltzbacher position we have often derided in these columns — where a conformist like Tucker is regarded as an individualist but the most individualistic of all workers — the IWW — could not be because they were labelled "syndicalists" or "communists"!

C.L.A. COMMUNIQUE

Communique:

Since 25 June there have been a large number of raids and arrests of anarchists in Barcelona with the excuse of supposed involvement in the arrest of Balthazar Suarez, Director of the Banco de Bilbao in Paris (the "simple employ employee" who, in fact, is the President of the Franco-Spanish Board of Trade in Paris).

As explained in previous communiques the action in Paris was carried out by the International Revolutionary Action Groups, and the propaganda and revindicative campaign organised by this Committee. As a result of this propaganda task the following comrades were arrested: Luis Burro, Luis Andres Edo, David Urbano, Juan Ferran and Margarita Guijano (the last two have since been released on bail). In the case of the first two comrades, Edo and Burro, their families were also arrested and only released after long interrogation.

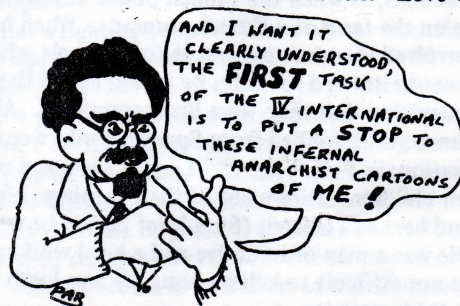
Luis Edo and David Urbano had lived in France and, furthermore, had only recently completed long prison sentences in Spain. From the point of view of the Spanish police their arrest is "reasonable" and "logical". As is usual with the Spanish police (and most police forces) they frame suspects when they do not have the evidence to convict them. These arrests were carried out with the pleasure and assistance of the French police who had asked for the help of the Spanish police and who had supplied them with a list of names and addresses of suspects. This collaboration honours "the traditional friendship between our peoples" (so proudly proclaimed by Giscard d'Estaing) and which latterly (at least on a police level) seems to be developing into an engagement. C.L.A.

Comite Libertario Antir-represivo.

THE MAUDLING PRIZE FOR IDIOT OF THE MONTH

Dr. Thomas Main informed a Bradford medical conference that once a man overcomes his impotence, his whole life becomes more potent. "He gets a better job, more money, a better house and so on."

For this solution to the housing and economic problems we commend Dr. Main with an embroidered text "Love Conquers All".



In practice though the IWW stood for industrial unionism, its halls and locals were centres — just like the CNT regional councils and 'communes' — and the unions were councils of workers, who met socially at the halls.

It may be as Jewell says the non-unionised workers in the States may go first to industrial unionism. In that case, halls and clubs would be an offshoot of that movement — for people organised on the job will always meet socially anyway instead of a springboard. We don't have to wait for that though . . . waiting for something to happen is the curse of the social revolution . . . we need a place where the workers can move into action . . . where militants can get to know each other and where we have our base of strength as workers and our field of propaganda as sectarians.

SABATÉ

guerrilla
extraordinary
Antonio Tellez

Narrow Demy 8vo/ 192 pp
Illustrated/"Sabate in perspective" by O. Alberola.
Cover ill. by F. Costantini
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Freedom's cause can have had few more generous or affectionate friends than Francisco Sabaté Llopert (1915-60). For thirty years this man, known to friend and foe alike as El Quico, refused to accept his lot as powerless. He is famous principally for his struggle against the Franco dictatorship in the years 1945 to 1960; for instead of accepting defeat and exile he lived according to the dictum: "The revolutionary does not dedicate his life to preparing for the revolution: he makes it."

Now his friend and comrade Antonio Tellez has written this book which he modestly describes as "an outline, a cameo if you like, of a man whose biography is yet to be written", but which is in fact a most powerful study, personal in form but deeply political in content, of a man whom he shows quite clearly to be a uniquely outstanding rebel.

Love And Hard Work

Sabaté came from a suburb of Barcelona and showed a great love of freedom while still very young. He was clearly a warm and steadfast soul, as the surviving photographs of him reveal. They also show him as thoughtful and resolute. He undoubtedly possessed great physical strength, which he took care to conserve, for he neither smoked nor drank. Although often isolated he was never a loner, a fanatic; when he was twenty he and his companion Leonor Castells Martí literally set up house together, building it "with love and hard work"; eventually they raised two daughters, born some years later.

Always punctilious in his dealings with others, Sabaté expected the same in return. He took full public responsibility for his actions, as when the French police discovered his arms cache on the farm of a French comrade. When his activities involved innocent parties, as for example when he hijacked a car to use in a robbery, he would advise them how to escape suspicion that they were his accomplices. All the fabulous amounts he robbed from Spanish banks went into the organisation; in France, he and Leonor lived and supported their children entirely out of their earnings, his as a plumber and hers as a cleaner (for a brief period he was a farmer). He was a man of initiative and a hard worker, says Tellez; it is not difficult to believe him. He was loath to shoot first at his enemies.

A Lifetime of Struggle

Sabaté's struggles began with his escape from a reformatory at a very early age. By the time of the Francoist uprising in July 1936 he had been an active Anarchist for over four years, from the age of sixteen. In those formative years his activities were inseparable from those of his much loved elder brother Jose, as they were to be again in the post-war period until Jose was shot down in 1949. A third much younger brother, Manuel, was captured and murdered by the fascists at almost the same time.

For the Sabatés as for others the Anarchist slogan "The War and the Revolution Are Inseparable" meant just that. As a result Quico spent some months of the war on the run, then in prison, whence he escaped to the front. Later he became a founder member of the French *maquis*.

With the fall of Hitler Sabaté resumed the struggle against his previous foe, the Franco dictatorship. His efforts were interrupted only by periods of imprisonment or banishment in France for illegal possession of arms. They finally ceased only when he was gunned down in a Catalonian village on 5 January 1960.

Sabaté and his comrades faced a totalitarian State which draws upon and uses in an efficient and thorough manner all the methods of twentieth-century government by terror. A regime of bigoted and psychopathic jailers, torturers and killers, who between 1939 and 1942 led out and shot literally hundreds of thousands of political opponents. The heirs of Torquemada, the pupils of the Gestapo. If the regime of Franco appears any less fearsome or destructive than that of Hitler or Stalin it is ultimately because men and women such as Sabaté and his comrades have, over the years, rent its evil facade from top to bottom, not once but again and again.

El Quico and his comrades set up guerrilla bases and safe houses between Barcelona and the French frontier. These served as refuges, arms depots, and supply posts in the Anarchist struggle against the dictatorship. The guerrillas carried out reprisals against the fascist murderers of comrades; they killed informers or chased them out of town. They organised aid for prisoners and their families. They attempted the life of the vicious Eduardo Quintela, Barcelona Chief of Police, failing only by staggering bad luck. They bombed the consulates of powers friendly to Franco. As the years went by, propaganda — often by very unconventional methods — played a most important part in guerrilla activity.

The methods of the Libertarian Resistance were bold, ingenious, and courageous — as are those of the men and women who carry on the same noble struggle today. Sabaté was always armed, usually in disguise. He displayed great caution and thought everything out to the last detail. Reading this book, in which many incidents are brought vividly to life, one has the feeling of looking over the shoulder of a great craftsman. Considering the meagre material resources at the disposal of the Resistance its achievements are still breathtaking.

Tyrants Shall Not Rule Forever!

The following lines from Shelley seem to place Sabaté's struggle in perspective:

*Fear not that the tyrants shall rule forever,
Or the priests of the bloody faith;
They stand on the brink of that mighty river
Whose waves they have tainted with death;
It is fed from the depths of a thousand dells,
Around them it foams, and rages, and swells,
And their swords and their sceptres I floating see,
Like wrecks in the surge of eternity.*

Never did El Quico and his comrades cast themselves as deliverers. Tellez is explicit on this point, saying: "For Sabaté, the struggle against Franco could not be considered in the light of group or party politics. His only concern was to create a climate of insurrection. Victory for him did not consist of building up the power of a political name or tendency, but in the incorporation of all people's forces against tyranny."

Unfortunately, however the established Spanish Libertarian Movement (MLE/CNT) in exile, ruled by an ossifying bureaucracy spawned from the apathy and general impotence of its adherents, saw itself precisely in the role of a "vanguard" to return "one day" to Spain and proclaim itself the saviour of the people — just as politicians do when a dictatorship falls. Sabaté and his comrades moved further away from the bureaucratic inertia and interference of the MLE/CNT, claiming and exercising more and more autonomy in their efforts to rouse and support opposition in the Interior.

"New Times" — Class War Comiks (No. 1 - 25p)

This is the first part of a series which is going to describe first an "anarchist" society already existing; then how counter-revolutionaries seize the cities; and then how the people rise up armed to thwart them — all told in the style of the American funnies true to the love-hate relationship of the package-deal libertarian left with Amerika-America.

It is hard to say if it comes off or not; the illustrations don't flow and seem oddly static, which destroys the telling of the story but it may well be the thing to give the kids and certainly a change from the illustrated war comix. A pity though that the "anarchist" society is so unattractive and unauthentic a fashion: it in reality depicts an authoritarian hippy drop-out.

1. There is a tiny, unnoticed police station hidden inside one of the stone street lamps on the Charing Cross side of Trafalgar Square (near the Tube entrance). It is in direct communication with Scotland Yard, and the occupant can see through the turret holes without being seen. He can also take photographs.
2. Certainly. In 1869 the 'Monkey Tiger', dictator Francisco Solano Lopez of Paraguay (differing not in the degree of his crimes but the scope he had to carry them out) was, in the middle of the suicidal war he waged against the neighbouring countries, elected as a saint by the Sacred College of Paraguay.
3. William IV had delayed the signing of the Reform Bill (1831) when fear of an English Revolution compelled him to do so. Premier Earl Grey and Lord Chancellor Brougham had so frightened him with the alternative prospect that the Sailor King decided to rush to Parliament immediately. He was told by his courtiers there was no time to plait the manes. "Damme," he shouted, beside himself, "I'll go by hackney coach" . . . at this terrible threat he was taken, with the manes unplaited, at double trot.
4. Throughout their correspondence Marx and Engels make it plain that *their* particular theory was the alleged discovery that socialism was an inevitable stage in man's economic evolution, and something that was scientifically certain to replace capitalism. (What need then for agitation, let alone revolution?)
5. The bodies of those hanged at Tyburn (near what is now Marble Arch) were buried, or rather thrown, in Red Lion Fields. After the Restoration of Charles II, the bodies of Oliver Cromwell and his son-in-law General Ireton, were dug up from Westminster Abbey, beheaded and dragged into what is now the square.

Sabate

Eventually the bureaucracy became downright antagonistic to the Resistance, even engaging in highly damaging slanders against Sabate, to which he could not reply without breaking cover.

The Francoists were not slow to take advantage of the isolation of the Resistance and sought and obtained the co-operation of the French authorities in suppressing it. The guerrillas had little defence in France since the "official" voice of the MLW/CNT was not raised on their behalf.

The assumption of power by De Gaulle and the institution therewith of the *regne des flics* — the quasi-police-state — made matters worse still. In December 1959 Sabate was literally driven from France by the revival of a murder charge, against which he had already defended himself successfully, into the meshes of a massive dragnet in the Spanish pyrenees. The Francoists had prepared an orgy of vengeance against their 'Public Enemy No. 1'. Mortally wounded, his four comrades killed, El Quico nevertheless made a spectacular escape from the trap and was finally shot down only as he collapsed at death's door.

"commune" (and this "commune" idea has nothing to do with communism in any sense of the word libertarian or authoritarian, but derives directly from Christian Monasticism - which comes out so well in the dreary lives of these "utopians").

Let's hope it improves as it goes along; maybe the lessons of fighting the reactionaries will teach a thing or two to these "utopians" of whom it is not revealed how they got their revolution; but we suspect by buying an island on dad's money.

AN EARTHLY PARADISE CALENDAR

William Morris and Walter Crane. A Kropotkin's Lighthouse Publication c/o Houseman's Bookshop, 5, Caledonian Road, London N.1. 60p plus 15p postage.

Letter to Black Flag.

Your attack on Peter Cadogan for following the libertarian principle of extending the freedom of speech and assembly even to detestable people includes the allegation that "at one meeting he called upon the Spies for Peace to give themselves up" (Volume III, Number 12). Not so. At the meeting in question — organised by CND in London on April 28 1963 — such a call was indeed made by such figures as George Clark and Adam Roberts, but not by Peter Cadogan. As it happened, he played an admirable part throughout that episode, deflecting the attention of both the police and the press from those he knew to be involved, and also helping in other ways which still cannot be described for obvious reasons. Whatever the libertarian movement may have against Peter Cadogan, we owe it to him and to ourselves to stick to the truth.

Spy for Peace.

We did not attack Mr. Cadogan merely for his "libertarian" policy of using Conway Hall for fascist meetings, but for infiltrating the Ethical Society with Monday Club members supporters, allowing its offices to be used for National Front strategy meetings, previously co-operating in police exclusion of blacks from other meetings (not counter-demos) when the NF was there, and finally turning Conway Hall into a fortress (resulting in death for which he accepted "moral responsibility" — of the Society!)

On Mr. Cadogan's past involvement in CND we are credibly informed he did ask the "Spies" to surrender "non-violently" to the police and his role is described as "so farcical perhaps, as to deflect attention". Can "Spy" be a turned agent?

Scot against War.

A Great Revolutionary

Here is a fine book about a great revolutionary, written with devotion and insight. Thanks to Antonio Tellez, and to Stuart Christie who translated the original Spanish work while in Brixton prison awaiting trial, Sabate will inspire many who never even heard of him during his lifetime. As I put down this book I was reminded of some words by Albert Camus who, by coincidence, died the day before Sabate:

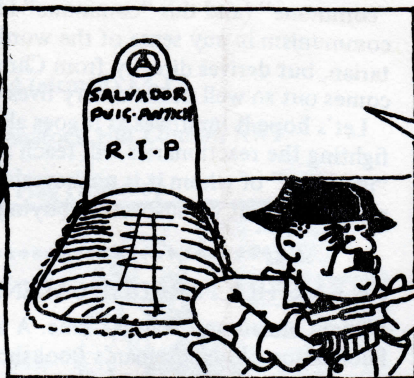
At this moment, when each of us must fit an arrow to his bow and enter the lists anew, to reconquer, within history and in spite of it, that which he owns already, the thin yield of his fields, the brief love of this earth, at this moment when at last a man is born, it is time to forsake our age and its adolescent rages. The bow bends; the wood complains. At the moment of supreme tension, there will leap into flight an unswerving arrow, a shaft that is inflexible and free.

M.H.

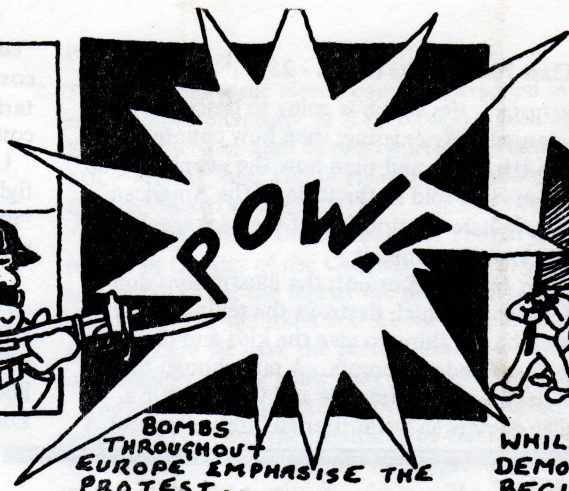


2 MARCH
1974.

SALVADOR PUIG ANTICH
IS MURDERED IN SPAIN.



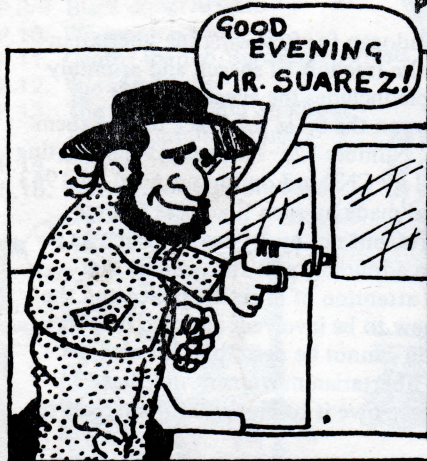
ARMED GUARDS KEEP
10,000 MOURNERS FROM
PUIG'S GRAVE.



BOMBS
THROUGHOUT
EUROPE EMPHASISE THE
PROTEST....



WHILST, ELSEWHERE
DEMONSTRATIONS
BEGIN....



GOOD
EVENING
MR. SUAREZ!



AND IN PARIS, THE SPANISH
BANKER SUAREZ IS
KIDNAPED BY "G.A.R.-I".

WHEN HE IS RELEASED UNHARMED
THE SPANISH SECRET SERVICE
DEMAND THE ARREST OF ALL
ANTI-FASCISTS IN FRANCE



11 PEOPLE ARE PUT INTO
PRISON IN PARIS IN
REPLY TO THE REQUEST.



VOILÁ!



HO! HO! HO!
ANOTHER
ADDRESS BOOK
MONSIEUR!



ARREST ANYONE
WHO BREATHES !!

FRENCH POLICE THEN COME TO
LONDON TO RAID ANTI-FASCISTS
IN SEARCH OF INFORMATION ABOUT
SPANISH RESISTANCE

...AND NAMES ARE
PASSED ON TO THE
SPANISH POLICE...

... WHICH LEADS TO MASS
ARRESTS IN SPAIN.



GREAT NEWS
YOUR EXCELLENCY!
YOUR GREATEST
ENEMY IS IN
PRISON!



BUT
WAIT...

¡CARAMBA!
THEN WHO
IS DOING ALL
THE SHOUTING?

WE ARE!